

citizens than their own representatives. That seems to be a theme that I am hearing over and over again. Yet, Mr. Speaker, as we debate this, there is also a second suggestion, that this resolution today, well thought of, well debated not just during the course of the summer and the previous months but in fact going back to 1990, that this is something new, that suddenly we have decided that Iraq is a problem.

Mr. Speaker, the Congressional action on Iraq goes back to 1990, to the 101st Congress, the 102nd Congress, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th and now 107th, and there are resolutions after resolutions of instruction, of threat, of demands against Iraq and the people because of the repression they had. That is just the United States Congress, Mr. Speaker. Then let us go to the U.N. itself.

Keep in mind America is a sovereign Nation. Unlike the supporters of this amendment, I do not believe that we need to have the U.N.'s permission to defend our own national interests. That is what nations do. We cannot get mad at Germany or France if they do not stand up for something that is not in their national interest. But I do not think the U.N. should interfere with something that is in our national interest, because this attack, this terrorist attack that we are suffering from, 9-11, happened in the United States of America.

But, Mr. Speaker, let us also think about Kosovo. This Congress agreed for President Clinton to bomb Kosovo because of repression of the Muslim population by the largely Christian population, and we in America sided with the Muslims. And President Clinton, I do not know how the supporters of this amendment voted on that, but he did not sit around and say, "I'd like to take some action in Kosovo. Gee whiz, what would the U.N. say?" I did not hear that cry and hue from the supporters of this amendment at that time. But if we were to go to the U.N., going back to U.N. Resolution 660, violated; U.N. Resolution 678 on November 1990; Resolution 686 in March 1991; Resolution 687, April 1991; Resolution 688, April 1991; Resolution 707, August 15, 1991; October 11, 1991, Resolution 715.

Mr. Speaker, the list goes on and on and on. I would like to submit these for the RECORD. But the reality is that the U.N. has been calling for Iraq to act and to comply and to discontinue certain activities which they have flagrantly ignored. It is not time to go back to the U.N. for one more resolution. If the U.N. was going to act, they would have done it. They have had countless opportunities since 1991.

Mr. Speaker, we have not had weapons inspectors in Iraq since 1998. The minimum agreement here between the hawks and the doves, if you will, is that Iraq has chemical and biological weapons and is near nuclear capability. The minimum agreement is they are anti-American, they are dangerous, they are a barbaric regime. The min-

imum agreement, they have violated 16 U.N. resolutions.

Mr. Speaker, the time to act is now, not waiting on the U.N.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following material for the RECORD:

[From the Congressional Research Service, Oct. 1, 2002]

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON IRAQ 1990-2002: A
COMPILATION OF LEGISLATION
(By Jeremy M. Sharp)

SUMMARY

This report is a compilation of legislation on Iraq from 1990 to the present. The list is composed of resolutions and public laws relating to military action and/or diplomatic pressure to be taken against Iraq. The list does not include foreign aid appropriations bills passed since FY 1994 that deny U.S. funds to any nation in violation of the United Nations sanctions regime against Iraq. Also, measures that were not passed only in either the House or the Senate are not included (with the exception of the proposals in the 107th Congress). For a more in-depth analysis of U.S. action against Iraq, see CRS Issue Brief IB92117, Iraq, Compliance, Sanctions and U.S. Policy. This report will be updated as developments unfold.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON IRAQ 1990-2002
101st Congress

House

H. Con. Res. 382: Expressed the sense of the Congress that the crisis created by Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait must be addressed and resolved on its own terms separately from other conflicts in the region. Passed in the House: October 23, 1990.

H. J. Res. 658: Supported the actions taken by the President with respect to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and confirmed United States resolve. Passed in the House: October 1, 1990.

Senate

S. Res. 318: Commended the President for his actions taken against Iraq and called for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, the freezing of Iraqi assets, the cessation of all arms shipments to Iraq, and the imposition of sanctions against Iraq. Passed in the Senate: August 2, 1990.

Public Laws

P.L. 101-509: (H.R. 5241). Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act FY 1991 (Section 630). Urged the President to ensure that coalition allies were sharing the burden of collective defense and contributing financially to the war effort. Became public law: November 5, 1990.

P.L. 101-510: (H.R. 4739). Defense Authorization Act FY 1991 (Section 1458). Empowered the President to prohibit any and all products of a foreign nation which has violated the economic sanctions against Iraq. Became public law: November 5, 1990.

P.L. 101-513: (H.R. 5114). The Iraq Sanctions Act of 1990 (Section 586). Imposed a trade embargo on Iraq and called for the imposition and enforcement of multilateral sanctions in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions. Became public law: November 5, 1990.

P.L. 101-515: (H.R. 5021). Department of Commerce, Justice, and State Appropriations Act FY 1991 (Section 608 a & b). Restricted the use of funds to approve the licensing for export of any supercomputer to any country whose government is assisting Iraq develop its ballistic missile program, or chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons capability. Became public law: November 5, 1990.

102nd Congress

Public Laws

P.L. 102-1: (H.J. Res. 77). Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolu-

tion. Gave Congressional authorization to expel Iraq from Kuwait in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 678, which called for the implementation of eleven previous Security Council Resolutions. Became public law: January 12, 1991.

P.L. 102-138: (H.R. 1415). The Foreign Relations Authorization Act for FY 1992 (Section 301). Stated that the President should propose to the Security Council that members of the Iraqi regime be put on trial for war crimes. Became public law: October 28, 1991.

P.L. 102-190: (H.R. 2100). Defense Authorization Act for FY1992 (Section 1095). Supported the use of "all necessary means to achieve the goals of United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 as being consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (P.L. 102-1)." Became public law: December 5, 1991.

103rd Congress

Public Laws

P.L. 103-160: (H.R. 2401). Defense Authorization Act FY 1994 (Section 1164). Denied defectors of the Iraqi military entry into the United States unless those persons had assisted U.S. or coalition forces and had not committed any war crimes. Became public law: November 30, 1993.

P.L. 103-236: (H.R. 2333). Foreign Relations Authorization Act FY 1994, 1995 (Section 507). Expressed the sense of Congress that the United States should continue to advocate the maintenance of Iraq's territorial integrity and the transition to a unified, democratic Iraq. Became public law: April 30, 1994.

104th Congress

House

H. Res. 120: Urged the President to take "all appropriate action" to secure the release and safe exit from Iraq of American citizens William Barloon and David Daliberti, who had mistakenly crossed Iraq's border and were detained. Passed in the House: April 3, 1995.

Senate

S. Res. 288: Commended the military action taken by the United States following U.S. air strikes in northern Iraq against Iraqi radar and air defense installations. This action was taken during the brief Kurdish civil war in 1996. Passed in the Senate: September 5, 1996.

105th Congress

House

H. Res. 322: Supported the pursuit of peaceful and diplomatic efforts in seeking Iraqi compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions regarding the destruction of Iraq's capability to deliver and produce weapons of mass destruction. However, if such efforts fail, "multilateral military action or unilateral military action should be taken." Passed in the House: November 13, 1997.

H. Res. 612: Reaffirmed that it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime. Passed in the House: December 17, 1998.

H. Con. Res. 137: Expressed concern for the urgent need of a criminal tribunal to try members of the Iraqi regime for war crimes. Passed in the House: January 27, 1998.

Senate

S. Con. Res. 78: Called for the indictment of Saddam Hussein for war crimes. Passed in the Senate: March 13, 1998.

Public Laws

P.L. 105-174: (H.R. 3579). 1998 Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions Act (Section 17). Expressed the sense of Congress that none of the funds appropriated or otherwise